

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 ISO-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05 SAJ-01

CU-02 OIC-02 EB-07 TRSE-00 OES-03 NSF-01 COME-00

OMB-01 /092 W

----- 091992

O R 191140Z APR 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2233

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 278

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SAACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 2749

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM, EGEN, EEWT, SGEN

SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - APRIL 14-18

SUMMARY: WORK ON THE PRINCIPLES AND CBMS MOVED AHEAD

THIS WEEK, BUT BASKET III REACHED ALMOST TOTAL IMPASSE.

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PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE AGREED ON THE OUTSTANDING SUBSTANTIVE

PARTS OF THE TENTH (AND LAST) PRINCIPLE, FULFILLMENT OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS, LEAVING FOR RESOLUTION IN THIS PRINCIPLE ONLY QUESTIONS OF WORDING AND PLACEMENT OF QRR SAVING CLAUSE, AND PLACEMENT OF A SENTENCE PREVIOUSLY AGREED AS PART OF LAST SUMMER'S "PACKAGE DEAL." INFORMAL NEGOTIATIONS ON QRR LANGUAGE SHOULD OPEN SHORTLY. IN MILITARY SUBCOMMITTEE SOVIETS SHOWED FURTHER FLEXIBILITY, HINTING BROADLY THAT THEY COULD ACCEPT NATO "ALL OF EUROPE" FORMULA FOR CBMS AREA OF APPLICATION, WITH LARGE EXCEPTIONS FOR SOVIET TERRITORY, IF THEIR VOLUNTARY IDEA IS ACCEPTED. IN BASKET III, HOWEVER, THERE WAS VIRTUALLY NO PROGRESS, AS INFORMAL NEGOTIATIONS ON SEVERAL SUBJECTS REACHED IMPASSE, AND US-SOVIET DIFFERENCES, PARTICULARLY OVER WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, BECAME MORE APPARENT. IN THIS SITUATION SOVIETS CONTINUED TO EXHIBIT SIGNS OF NERVOUSNESS, AND OTHER DELEGATIONS, BECOMING MORE AND MORE CONCERNED THAT THE CONFERENCE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO MEET ITS HYPOTHETICAL SCHEDULE FOR CONCLUSION, BEGAN TO IDENTIFY ESSENTIALS WHICH THEY WANT TO STICK TO, AND NON-ESSENTIALS WHICH THEY CAN EVENTUALLY DROP. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- FIRST READING OF TWO PARAGRAPHS OF TENTH PRINCIPLE (FULFILLMENT OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS) WAS COMPLETED, LEAVING QRR TEXT AND PLACEMENT OF ADDITIONAL SENTENCE AGREED LAST JULY AS PART OF A "PACKAGE DEAL" TO BE DEALT WITH LATER. PROCEDURAL HASSLE TOOK PLACE BETWEEN WEST, WHICH DID NOT WANT TO AGREE FORMALLY THAT FIRST READING OF ALL TEN PRINCIPLES WAS OVER, AND SOVIETS, WHO WISHED THIS FOR OVERALL POLITICAL REASONS AND IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO TURN TO PLACEMENT OF FIRST PRINCIPLE PACKAGE DEAL SENTENCE. MATTERS WERE COMPLICATED BY RIGID FRENCH REQUIREMENTS FOR REFLECTING QRR TEXT. RESULT WAS EXTRAORDINARY ENTRY IN SUBCOMMITTEE JOURNAL SETTING OUT THE TWO PARAGRAPHS OF PRINCIPLE 10 WHICH ARE READY FOR REGISTRATION, AGREEMENT TO TURN NEXT TO PLACEMENT OF FIRST PRINCIPLE PACKAGE DEAL SENTENCE, DECISION TO RETURN TO QUESTION OF PROVISIONAL REGIS-
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TRATION OF 10TH PRINCIPLE ON APRIL 28, AND SIX POWER STATEMENT (US, UK, USSR, FRANCE, GDR, FRG) CITING FRENCH QRR TEXT, RECALLING NEED TO DISCUSS IT IN FUTURE, AND SUGGESTING THAT QUESTION OF PLACEMENT IN 10TH PRINCIPLE OR FINAL CLAUSES SHOULD ALSO BE EXAMINED. OUTSIDE OFFICIAL MEETINGS, NEUTRALS CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT QRR TEXT REFERENCE TO "RESPONSIBILITIES" BE QUALIFIED, AND INFORMAL NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS POINT

SHOULD BEGIN SOON. IN SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION SWISS PROPOSAL FOR A FOLLOW-UP STUDY AFTER CSCE OF POSSIBILITIES FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES SYSTEM RECEIVED SUPPORT FROM NEUTRALS AND SOVIET BLOC, BUT COOL RECEPTION FROM NATO COUNTRIES WHICH FOUND FAULT PARTICULARLY WITH ITS OPEN MANDATE WHICH DID NOT ENSURE AN ELEMENT OF COMPULSORY JURISDICTION, AND ITS INTEGRATION INTO GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR CSCE FOLLOW-UP.

3. MILITARY SECURITY -- AFTER ALLIES HAD INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO RECIPROCATATE ANY SOVIET FLEXIBILITY ON MANEUVERS PARAMETERS, SOVIET REP BROADLY HINTED AT APRIL 17 SUB-COMMITTEE MEETING THAT USSR WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT NATO'S "ALL OF EUROPE" FORMULA FOR AREA PARAMETER. (HE ARGUED, HOWEVER, THAT INCLUSION OF SUBSTANTIAL BAND OF SOVIET TERRITORY WOULD BE DISCRIMINATORY SINCE ALL OF US AND CANADA WAS BEING EXCLUDED.) AT APRIL 18 MEETING SOVIET REP WENT FURTHER, INDICATING SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER TAKING MORE FORTHCOMING POSITION ON THRESHOLD AND TIMING. HE LINKED SUCH FLEXIBILITY, HOWEVER, TO WITHDRAWAL OF "MAXIMALIST" PROPOSALS AND TO ACCEPTANCE OF "VOLUNTARY BASIS" FORMULA. UK REP SAID THIS FORMULA WAS OPEN TO DIVERSE INTERPRETATIONS, SOME OF WHICH (SUCH AS "ARBITRARY" OR "OPTIONAL") WERE UNACCEPTABLE. HE PUT FORWARD ORALLY VARIOUS "ELEMENTS" WHICH HE SAID SHOULD BE COVERED IN ANY AGREED FORMULA FOR NATURE OF COMMITMENT. THESE INCLUDED EXPRESSION OF A "FIRM DECISION", ACCEPTANCE OF POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY TO NOTIFY MANEUVERS IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARAMETERS IN A METICULOUS AND SCRUPULOUS MANNER, AND RECOGNITION OF "ENORMOUS POLITICAL IMPORTANCE" OF

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CBMS. SOVIET REPLIED THAT UK "ELEMENTS" WERE WORTH STUDY THOUGH THEY WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE SUBSTITUTE FOR "VOLUNTARY BASIS" FORMULAS. HE ADDED THAT, IN SOVIET VIEW, THIS FORMULA "CLARIFIED" BOTH THE MANNER IN WHICH THE STATES WOULD ASSUME A NOTIFICATION COMMITMENT AND HOW THEY WOULD IMPLEMENT IT. HE STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT TO SOVIETS "VOLUNTARY BASIS" WAS NOT SYNONYMOUS WITH "SELECTIVE", "ARBITRARY" OR "OCCASIONAL" AND ARGUED THAT ANY AMBIGUITY WAS VIRTUALLY ELIMINATED BY USING AGREED PARAMETERS IN CONNECTION WITH THIS FORMULA. SOVIET REP URGED THAT SUB-COMMITTEE START NEXT WEEK TO TRY TO PUT DOWN ON PAPER SOME OF THE IDEAS AND FORMULATIONS BEING DISCUSSED. FRENCH, NORWEGIAN, YUGOSLAV AND SWEDE AGREED THAT TIME WAS NEAR FOR TAKING UP PENCILS. DUTCH REP SAID HE WOULD POSE

NO PROCEDURAL OBJECTIONS BUT HE REITERATED HIS DEL'S DOUBTS ABOUT "VOLUNTARY BASIS" FORMULA. ROMANIAN REP SAID HIS DEL COULD NOT ACCEPT THIS FORMULA AS BASIS FOR AGREEMENT ON MANEUVER NOTIFICATION, AND THAT ROMANIANS REJECTED IDEA OF MAKING PROGRESS CONDITIONAL UPON ACCEPTANCE OF ONE OR MORE UNILATERAL PROPOSALS.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- FULL COMMITTEE CAME CLOSE OT AGREEMENT ON AN LDC TEXT WHEN ROMANIANS ACCEPTED A FINNISH PROPOSAL FOR A REFERENCE TO LEADT DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES MARKED TIME AS PRIVATE CONSULTATIONS CONTINUED ON RECIPROCITY AND SAFEGUARDS ISSUE. SUBCOMMITTEE ON OTHER ECONOMIC AREAS CAME CLOSE TO AGREEMENT ON SECTION CONCERNING TRAINING OF PROFESSIONAL STAFF.

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5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- HUMAN CONTACTS SUB-COMMITTEE ACCEPTED SOVIET SUGGESTION TO BEGIN TASK OF REMOVING BRACKETS IN REGISTERED TEXTS, AND SOVIETS HAVE NOT OBJECTED TO EC-NINE PROPOSALS ALSO TO EXAMINE TRANSLATION PROBLEMS AND ORGANIZATION OF FINAL TEXTS. EC-NINE GAVE SOVIETS A NEW TEXT ON TRAVEL FOR DISCUSSION
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IN INFORMAL MEETINGS BUT DIFFERENCES OVER SUBSTANTIVE PROVISIONS WERE STILL GREAT. WORK ON INTRODUCTORY TEXT REMAINS BOGGED DOWN. IN INFORMATION, INFORMAL MEETING ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS ENDED IN DEADLOCK WHEN SOVIETS SAID ANY REFERENCE TO "WIDER" TRAVEL BY JOURNALISTS, AS DESIRED BY US, WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE. INFORMAL MEETING ON INTRODUCTORY TEXT WAS EQUALLY UNSUCCESSFUL. THERE WAS ALSO NO PROGRESS ON KEY ISSUES OF INTEREST TO WEST IN SUBCOMMITTEES ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION, THOUGH BEHIND-THE-SCENES EFFORTS TO BREAK THE IMPASSE ARE UNDERWAY IN BOTH GROUPS. MEANWHILE, SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION INITIATED DISCUSSIONS ON CONTROVERSIAL YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL PROVIDING FOR EDUCATION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES "IN THEIR OWN LANGUAGE." NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS FROM BOTH EAST AND WEST EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ON PROPOSAL, AND IT CLEARLY FACES HARD SLEDDING.

6. MEDITERRANEAN -- WORKING GROUP REACHED TENTATIVE AGREEMENT ON FIRST PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH FOR MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION, AND INFORMAL CONSENSUS ON SECOND, DEALING WITH MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY. REMAINING TWO OR THREE PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS SHOULD PRESENT NO SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR EARLY COMPLETION OF DECLARATION.

7. FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III -- FURTHER COORDINATING COMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF ORGANIZATION OF FINAL DOCUMENTS CONFIRMED SHARP DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS, WITH SOVIETS AND OTHER WP DELS ADAMANTLY INSISTING ON FOUR OR FIVE SEPARATE DOCUMENTS, AL OF WHICH WOULD BE SIGNED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, AND NATO AND NEUTRAL DELS, PLUS ROMANIA, EQUALLY INSISTENT ON ONE DOCUMENT WITH

ONE SIGNATURE. SEVERAL DELS CONCLUDED THAT CONTINUATION OF THIS DISCUSSION NOW WOULD SERVE NO USEFUL PURPOSE, AND THAT SOLUTION WOULD HAVE TO BE FOUND INFORMALLY IN CORRIDORS.

8. FOLLOW-UP -- WORKING GROUP FAILED TO MOVE BEYOND INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSION OF FIRST ELEMENT OF OPERATIVE PART OF FOLLOW-UP RESOLUTION. VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS ARE NOW BEING CONSIDERED TO BRING ISSUES CONFIDENTIAL

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INTO SHARPER FOCUS, AS A MEANS OF APPROACHING DRAFTING ON SUBSTANCE OF FOLLOW-UP ISSUE.

9. COMMENT: THE SQUEEZE IS ON, AND THE SOVIETS KNOW IT. FOLLOWING UP ON THE BREZHNEV LETTER SUGGESTING THAT STAGE III OF CSCE BEGIN JUNE 30, EASTERN PROPAGANDA HAS BEGUN TO MENTION APPROXIMATE DATES FOR CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MORE THAN A YEAR. GDR DEL HEAD BOCK WAS QUOTED IN AN EAST BERLIN DOMESTIC BROADCAST AS SAYING THE FINAL PHASE OF CSCE COULD TAKE PLACE AT THE END OF JUNE OR BEGINNING OF JULY, AND ISVESTIYA SAID ON APRIL 18 THAT MOST CSCE PARTICIPANTS "ARE INCLINED TO CONCLUDE ITS WORK IN THE SUMMER OF 1975 IN HELSINKI AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL." IN PARALLEL WITH THESE GROWING PUBLIC COMMITMENTS THE SOVIETS HERE ARE PLAINLY TRYING TO BRING DISCUSSION OF CBMS, WHICH HAS SEEN NO PROGRESS WHATSOEVER FOR MANY MONTHS, INTO LINE WITH THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION ON OTHER SUBJECTS, WHICH ARE GENERALLY QUITE NEAR TO COMPLETION. THIS EFFORT REVEALED THAT THE SOVIETS ARE INDEED IN A HURRY, AS THEY HINTED BROADLY AT A NEW CONCESSION (ACCEPTANCE OF "ALL OF EUROPE" CONCEPT FOR AREA OF CBM APPLICATION, WITH EXCEPTIONS FOR SOVIET TERRITORY) BEFORE THEY HAD RECEIVED ANYTHING CONCRETE IN RETURN FOR THEIR EARLIER CONCESSIONS ON CBMS (ACCEPTANCE OF NOTIFICATION OF NATIONAL AND MULTINATIONAL MANEUVERS TO ALL CSCE PARTICIPANTS). THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY WOULD ALSO LIKE TO MOVE AHEAD RAPIDLY, AND TO CONCLUDE WORK ON MOST SUBJECTS IN BASKET III, AND ARE EXHIBITING GROWING NERVOUSNESS IN FACE OF THE RESISTANCE THEY HAVE FOUND AMONG WESTERN DELEGATIONS (INCLUDING USDEL) TO BASKET III "COMPROMISES" ON SOVIET TERMS. WHILE SEVERAL NATO DELEGATIONS ARE TOGETHER MAINTAINING A SOLID WESTERN FRONT IN BASKET III, THE US POSITION ON THE CURRENT NEGOTIATING SUBJECT UNDER THE HEADING OF WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS HAS BEEN WIDELY NOTED. WE ARE CURRENTLY SEEKING RECOGNITION IN THE JOURNALISTS' TEXT OF THE CONCEPT OF WIDER TRAVEL BY JOURNALISTS AND EARLY RESPONSE TO

APPLICATION FOR SUCH TRAVEL. THIS STANCE HAS BEEN
APPRECIATED BY NATO ALLIES AND NEUTRALS, BUT HAS ANNOYED
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THE SOVIETS.

10. MEANWHILE, WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS, WHO
WOULD ALSO LIKE TO FINISH THE CONFERENCE THIS SUMMER,
ARE INCREASINGLY PREOCCUPIED BY THE FACT THAT THIS MAY NOT
BE TECHNICALLY POSSIBLE UNLESS THERE IS SIGNIFICANT
PROGRESS IN STAGE II WORK VERY SOON. THESE DELEGATIONS
ARE NOW AT THE STAGE OF TRYING TO IDENTIFY
FOR THEMSELVES THE REMAINING POINTS WHICH THEY CONSIDER
ESSENTIAL, WITH A VIEW TO DROPPING NON-ESSENTIAL ITEMS
IN ORDER TO MOVE AHEAD RAPIDLY. ONCE AGAIN, THERE
IS A WIDESPREAD PREOCCUPATION WITH TIME, AND A GENERAL
DESIRE FOR EARLY RESOLUTION OF OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS,
MATCHED BY AN EQUALLY STRNG RELUCTANCE TO YIELD
ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. THIS WILL BE A PARTICULARLY
ACUTE DILEMMA FOR THE SOVIETS IN THE COMING WEEKS, AND
THE TIMING OF THE CONCLUSION OF CSCE WILL DEPEND
IN LARGE PART ON HOW THEY RESOLVE IT. END COMMENT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS SUMMARIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA02749
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750138-0280
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750434/aaaabftk.tel
Line Count: 358
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <02 MAY 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <05 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - APRIL 14-18 SUMMARY: WORK ON THE PRINCIPLES AND CBMS MOVED AHEAD
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, EGEN, EEWT, SGEN, XG, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006